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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to analyze data collected from a predominantly black senior high school in Kansas City, Missouri, on what the concept of Black Power means to black students. The difference of attitudes according to social class and peer groups is investigated. Results collected from a questionnaire show that students in this sample believed Black Power has something to do with pride, power to control one's life, and equal opportunities and rights. However, a very small percentage of students were able to define the concept in terms of achievable goals. (JW)

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BLACK POWER ATTITUDES AMONG STUDENTS IN A BLACK SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL

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Purpose of the Study

Previous studies of attitudes of students attending three predominantly black senior high schools and one junior high school in Kansas City, Missouri, have yielded baseline information about the viewpoints of students in a segregated big-city setting.[1] The purpose of the present study is to analyze data collected from a predominantly black senior high school in Kansas City, Missouri, as they relate to the Black Power concept. The groups or individuals considered major influences in this community by students is also another major consideration.

Identification and Importance of the Issues

The term "Black Power" has become an important concept in the thinking of many Americans. The wide diversity of meaning attached to this slogan makes it difficult to summarize an all-inclusive definition. Charles V. Hamilton, co-author of perhaps the best known book on this subject, has described the situation as follows in introducing a discussion of the concept of Black Power in an article in The New York Times:

> Black Power has many definitions and connotations in the rhetoric of race relations. . . .Ultimately, I suspect, we have to accept the fact that, in this highly charged atmosphere, it is virtually impossible to come up with a single definition satisfactory to all![2]

Since themes most generally associated with the term Black Power involve a stress on political unity and an insistence on more self-determination in communities which are entirely or predominantly black, it is also important to determine which individuals or groups the students feel best represent this theme. While advocates of Black Power may take any of a multiplicity of positions in implicitly or explicitly translating the term into more specific and concrete implications and meanings, the choice of advocates and groups students make perhaps more clearly indicates what Black Power means to them than words or definitions they use, which are sometimes quite vague.

Though students may not fully understand the meaning of their choices of individuals or groups, it is important that the philosophy of the group cited most by the students be understood. For example, Huey Newton, a national leader of

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[1] Norman Fiddmont and Daniel U. Levine, "Attitudes and Experiences Influencing Civil Rights Viewpoints Among Negro High School Students in Kansas City, Missouri," Final Report, 1969; Daniel U. Levine, et al., "The Attitudes of Students at Black High Schools in Five Cities" Final Report NIMH RO 3 MH 17107, 1971; Joseph P. Caliguri, Daniel U. Levine, et al., "Black Power Attitudes Among Students in a Black Junior High School, 1970.

[2] Charles V. Hamilton, "An Advocate of Black Power Defines It," The New York Times, May 13, 1969.

the Black Panther Party, has been quoted as expressing ideas related to the slogan "All power to the people."[3]

Black Power advocates often sound alike, but close scrutiny will reveal that different points of view are expressed. Some insist on more control over economic and political decisions and conditions in the black community, while others are calling for fully independent and separate development and control of these communities. Most of the black leaders agree that economic institutions are the salvation of ghetto dwellers. Some believe that all institutional life should be completely controlled by blacks and developed separately from national institutions. If this goal is not achieved, many feel that improvements will be greatly hampered and efforts to overcome the anti-black establishment will suffer.

Many are suggesting that the Black Panther Party is anti-American. Along with the Weathermen Faction of the Students for a Democratic Society, it is considered by the Federal Bureau of Investigation to be potentially the most dangerous group in the United States. What perhaps is most objectionable to some Americans are the activities engaged in and statements made by leaders of the group. Nevertheless, in our study of students at Lincoln Senior High School, Indications are that the Black Panther group is the one most often cited as representing the Black Power

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[3] Bobby Seale, Black Panther leader quoted Huey Newton in addressing the public in the Black Panther, March 16, 1968:

> 1. We want freedom, we want power to determine the destiny of our black communities. No. 2: We want full employment for our people. No. 3: We want housing fit for shelter of human beings. No. 4: We want all black men to be exempt from military service. No. 5: We want decent education for our black people in our communities that teaches us the true nature of this decadent, racist society, and that teaches black people and our young black brothers and sisters their place in our society, for if they don't know their place in society and in the world, they can't relate to anything else. No. 6: We want an end to robbery by the white racist businessman of black people in their community. No. 7: We want an IMMEDIATE end to police brutality and murder of black people. No. 8: We want all black men held in city, county, state, and federal jails and prisons to be released because they have not had a fair trial because they've been tried by all white juries, and that's just like being tried in Nazi Germany, being a Jew. No. 9: We want black people when brought to trial to be tried by members of their peer group; and a peer being one who comes from the same economic, social, religious, historical and racial background; that, in fact, black people, if the United States government and the local courts did this, they would have to choose black people from the black community to sit up on the jury . . . And No. 10: Huey said, let's summarize it: 'We want land, we want bread, we want housing, we want clothing, we want education, we want justice, and we want peace.'

idea. It is the group, more than any other, students feel is doing most to champion the cause of black Americans. Since this is the case, those alarmed over activities of the Black Panther Party may be concerned that future activities of young people may follow the trend of action the Black Panther Party engages in as part of their search for equality.

In this period in our history when student unrest is quite common and is expected to intensify, it is easy to be attracted to the more dramatic and sensational expressions. Many of the major accomplishments of Civil Rights groups and leaders are overlooked because they are not dramatized in a way to draw much attention. Perhaps what students say in this report is neither dramatic or sensational but it is important.

In the Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, Representative Shirley Chisholm (D.-N.Y.) said that Congress could not "solve the problem of student unrest. We should not if we could. Instead, we should listen to what our children - the students - are saying." Students were worried about racism, economic injustice, and "the terribly mistaken war we are caught in" she said.[4]

The appeal that Black Power spokesmen are making is clear. It is a calling on black Americans to exercise more power in American society, to feel that in spite of the complex forces which have prevented black Americans from participating fully in supposedly available opportunities, barriers are not insurmountable. Black Power, to those who employ the term primarily as a means to overcome feelings of helplessness, exclusion, and defeat which are thought to be widespread among residents of low-income, racial ghettoes, often stresses the goals of building a sense of pride in being black and of increasing commitment to and identification with the welfare of black people wherever they may live. Part of the problem advocates have had to deal with is the rejection blacks have of themselves. Much of the rhetoric of Black Power advocates is geared to help blacks overcome this rejection.

Specific Issues Investigated in the Study

The major purposes of this study are to determine what the concept of Black Power means to black students at the senior-high school age, to learn as much as possible concerning the way in which attitudes on this important subject are being formed, and who the students interpret the real Black Power leaders and groups to be. Among the important questions which should be asked in a study of this type are the following: What do black senior-high school students think of Black Power? Do they view the concept favorably? How specific are their understandings of and attitudes toward Black Power? From what sources are they receiving information about Black Power and what groups and individuals influence their attitudes toward it? What impact will it have on their lives?

It is felt by some observers that social class differences are determinants in views taken toward and support of the Black Power movement in particular. A commonly-held point of view on this issue is that black youngsters from working-class or lower-income families tend to be more "radical" or "revolutionary" than black

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[4]Shirley Chisolm, Student Unrest, Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, May 23, 1969.

youngsters from middle-income or socially-mobile families. Some also feel that black high school youngsters of low-income families respond with less militancy than do black students attending college, who may be more interested in following the ritual of their class work than concentrating on effecting social change.

Another commonly-held point of view is that youngsters, particularly in this age group, are influenced more by their peers than by their parents. One of the considerations of this study is to determine whether black high school students are more interested in the concept of Black Power, more favorable toward this concept and are more inclined to support a militant definition of it, than their parents.

Because our instrument, with few additions, was much like the questionnaire administered in a previous study of junior-high school students,[5] data from both these groups may provide some important understandings of trends in the Black Power movement. It is to be expected that senior-high school students, since they are older, may reflect views which demonstrate a more definite understanding of the Black Power concept than junior-high school students.

It is understandable that a limited study of this nature is exploratory at most. In spite of its limitations, however, it is felt that the findings will prove to hold some interest to educators as well as other persons researching other black students on the secondary level. Added questions dealt specifically with student knowledge of civil rights groups, and which of these organizations did they feel stood most clearly for the Black Power idea. Other items were designed to identify groups felt to be most militant by students, whether they viewed these groups favorably or unfavorably, and who they perceived to be the Black Power leaders in Kansas City.

Procedures

The questionnaire was administered under careful supervision to classes of students at Lincoln Senior High School in the late spring of 1969. Students were assured that their responses would remain anonymous as they were directed not to write their names on the questionnaire. A careful selection of those teachers considered most trustworthy by the students was made in hopes that student responses would represent the most accurate information possible. Usable responses were obtained from 200 students. Their responses are described in this report.

Characteristics of the Sample

The final sample of 200 consisted of 63 male students and 137 female students. Responses of males and females were grouped together after visual inspection revealed no significant differences in responses by sex.

Using Hollingshead's Two-Factor Index of Social Class, data were also collected to estimate the social class of students in our sample. The Hollingshead index enables one to classify respondents in one of five social class categories. Social class category one includes respondents from upper status income families and category 5 includes respondents from very low status families. Students in our sample fell into the following social class categories:

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[5]Caliguri, Levine, et al.

S.C. 1, 2, or 3	- 19 students	(10%)
S.C. 4	- 87 "	(43.5%)
S.C. 5	- 93 "	(46.5%)

Since respondents classified in categories 4 and 5 on the Hollingshead index are considered to be members of lower status groups in the nation's population ("working class," "underclass," etc.), 90% of the students in our sample can be designated as belonging to relatively low-income families in Kansas City.[6]

It should be noted that some items on the questionnaire were open-ended questions which students were requested to answer in their own words. The advantage of this procedure is that students' responses are not influenced or guided one way or another by response categories such as are used on items which request respondents to choose from a list of specific alternatives. Fortunately, many of the open-ended questions had been previously scored in another study to establish categories for all questions excluding questions 9 through 15.[7] Only in questions 12 and 14 did content analysis need to be carried out to establish categories. After becoming thoroughly familiar with responses to these two open-ended questions, categories were constructed for them. A total of 24 response categories were constructed. A second reader agreed with 20 of these categories. Because the readers were in such close agreement it was felt that procedding with the suggested categories was justified. Adjustments were necessary when assessing responses to other open-ended questions. In most cases, additions of one or two response categories were necessary.

Perceptions and Feelings About Black Power

In responding to the question, "What does Black Power mean to you?" 184 students wrote out answers which were judged to fit into seven definite response categories. Thirty-seven of these responses would have required separate categories for each response and therefore were put into category eight labeled as "other." The response categories were as follows:

Pride	Responses emphasizing Black Power as a movement to develop respect for and demonstrate pride in race among Black Americans.

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[6]The large majority of students in segregated inner-city neighborhoods have economically and socially disadvantaged backgrounds. The wide implications of this situation is of major concern in American society today. Other large cities across the nation have neighborhoods similar to the one Lincoln draws its students from. There are similarities in staffing and achievement levels of the faculties and student bodies in these neighborhood schools. Lincoln is a de facto segregated high school which, like many other high schools in the country, will remain segregated throughout its existence unless total integration plans are implemented. If the basic problem can be summarized at Lincoln, it is one of helping these young people become a part of the mainstream of American society when their racial identification, socioeconomic level and residence, and the history and nature of their school all tend to reinforce their separateness and isolation from this stream.

[7]The appendix at the end of this paper presents all of the items which were included on the questionnaire.

Power	Responses which essentially referred to Black Power as power of black Americans to rule themselves.
Equal Opportunities and Rights	Responses which emphasized Black Power as a movement to achieve social, economic, and political equality.
Fighting	Responses which cited Black Power retaliation or striking out against white society.
Violence	Responses which recognized Black Power as violence, such as riots, as a positive means of gaining recognition and the attention of American society.
Militant - Non-violent action	Responses which expressed Black Power as a movement involving peaceful demonstrations, etc., to awaken America's conscience and thus bring into being positive social action.
Nothing	Responses of students who said Black Power has no real meaning for them.

The distribution of student responses within these content categories is shown in Table 1. The data in Table 1 show that students in our sample vary greatly in their definitions of Black Power.

TABLE 1

Responses to the Item, "What Does Black Power Mean to You?"

Meaning Category	Number of Responses	Percent of Respondents
Pride	13	6.5
Power (to control one's life)	70	35.0
Equal Opportunities and Rights	41	20.5
Fighting	2	1.0
Violence	1	.5
Militant, non-violent action	4	2.0
Nothing	16	9.0
Other	37	18.5
Blank	16	8.0

Of the categories listed, two of the categories included the responses of a substantial number of students. More than one-third of the students responding defined Black Power as "Power (to control one's life)," while a little less than one-fourth defined Black Power as a movement to gain "equal opportunities and rights." Only eight percent said Black Power meant "nothing." Even fewer (06.5%) defined Black Power as "pride."

Another point that is noteworthy here is that in defining the term Black Power only 1.5% defined it in terms of violence. Assuming that violence and conflict are primarily negative concepts, one can conclude that Black Power is not generally

highly valued among senior-high school students. Since 62% defined Black Power according to "pride," "power," or as a movement to gain "equal opportunities and rights," indications are that the students in our sample on the whole do have positive feelings about Black Power. This view is further supported by responses to the item, "When you hear or talk about Black Power, how do you feel?" As shown in Table 2, thirty-two percent said they either felt "good" or "proud," while only 2% said they felt ashamed and only 5.5% registered other negative feelings.

TABLE 2

Responses to the Item, "When You Hear or Talk About Black Power, How Do You Feel?"

Reaction Category	No. of Responses	% of Responses
Proud	36	18.0
Good	28	14.0
Ashamed	4	2.0
Good, if not violent	8	4.0
Depends	11	5.5
Negative	11	5.5
Nothing	27	13.5
Other	37	18.5

When students were asked "Is there a difference between Black Power and Black Pride?" 51.5% stated that there was a difference, while 24% did not see a difference between Black Power and Black Pride (Table 3). Students attempting to differentiate between the two were extremely vague. Of the 32% attempting to note differences between the two, 20% were unclassifiable. Similarly, 24% of the 36% responses explaining Pride could not be classified. Those responses which were categorized explained Black Power as different from Black Pride in the sense that Black Power was a means of control, the power to exercise their rights, or as violence, while Pride was regarded as a feeling, more specifically "feeling equal," or as a feeling of accomplishment.

TABLE 3

Responses to the Item, "Is There a Difference Between Black Power and Black Pride?"

Response	Percentage of Responses
Yes (N = 103)	65.0
No (N = 48)	30.0
Don't Know (N = 8)	5.0

Sources and Communication of Attitudes Concerning Black Power

Respondents were asked to react to the item, "What were the most important influences in your thinking about Black Power?" Of the 116 who responded, 17 percent suggested that their attitudes were not influenced by any outside philosophies, as they volunteered that "nothing" had influenced their thinking about Black Power. Another 12 percent said that recent "riots" were most influential, while an equal number said ideas of "black unity and pride" influenced their thinking most. Seven percent cited each of the categories "Mass Media" and "Activities of Black Militant Organizations." Other responses included as influential fell into the category "Death and Speeches of Martin Luther King" 5 percent, "Teachers" 3.5 percent, and "Racial Tension" 1 percent.

TABLE 4

Responses to the Item, "What Were the Most Important Influences in Your Thinking About Black Power?"

Source	No. of Responses	Percent of Respondents
Mass Media	8	7%
Activities of Black Militant Groups	8	7%
Death and/or speeches of Martin Luther King	6	5%
Racial Tension	1	1%
Riots	14	12%
Black Pride and Unity	14	12%
Nothing	20	17%
Teachers	4	3.5%
Other	41	35.5%

The item "Who Do You Talk to About Black Power?" provided additional information regarding influences of Black Power among students in our sample. Student responses fell into the categories shown in Table 5.

TABLE 5

Responses to the Item, "Who Do You Talk to About Black Power?

Response	Number of Responses	% of Respondents
Relative (outside immediate family)	4	2%
Friends	70	42%
Family (immediate family)	14	8%
Teachers	8	5%
Nobody	33	20%
Community leaders	3	2%
Other	15	9%
Everyone	21	12%

Inspection of these responses clearly reveals that students tend to look first to friends and age-mates for information or interaction concerning the meaning of Black Power. Although other influences are indicated, none seems to fulfill, to the same degree, the role friends play. Only eight percent indicate they discuss Black Power with their families, and even fewer cite their teachers.

Questions 9 through 15 deal directly with groups and leaders considered most influential in the black community. Two questions asked students to state specifically the organizations and leaders they considered reflected most the interest of black people in Kansas City. After asking students to respond to the item "How many civil rights groups can you name?" 58 of the students were able to list from 2 to 3 groups, 48 students listed from 4 to 5, and 36 were able to list 6 or more groups. These findings indicate that at least 72% of those responding to the item were reasonably familiar with several groups and organizations operating in the black community.

The students were then asked to respond to the item "Which of these organizations seems to stand most clearly for the Black Power idea?" The Black Panther Party (now the Sons of Malcolm) was the most frequent selection, as 41% of those students responding to the question selected this group. The only other group the students selected in reasonably large numbers was the NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People) which 30% of responding students chose. The SCLC (Southern Christian Leadership Conference) was the selection of 9% of the responding students.

TABLE 6

Responses to the Item, "Which of These Organizations Seems to Stand Most Clearly for the Black Power Idea?

Response	No. of Responses	% of Respondents
Black Panthers	54	41%
Soul, Incorporated	9	7%
Disciples	3	2%
NAACP	39	30%
Black Youth of America	6	5%
SCLC	12	9%
SNCC	6	5%
CORE	1	.5%
Black Muslims	2	1.25%

The next item on the survey asked students "Which of these organizations do you believe to be militant?" Again, the Black Panther party was indicated. In this instance, of a total of 113 students who responded, 98 (87%) indicated that the Panther organization represented what they considered the most militant civil rights group.

These responses may indicate the present trend of thought among many black youngsters today. There appears to be a definite feeling among high school youth in the black community that the more traditional groups are much too conservative to serve immediate needs of their communities and thus have decided to support groups

which express militant concepts of Black Power.[8]

Responses to the item "How do you feel about militant organizations?" further support this point of view. The responses were divided into two categories, positive-neutral and negative. Eight students responded in positive terms while 44 gave netative responses. Of the positive-neutral response categories, 18 did not reject militancy in organizations but had no particular feelings about them, while 16 said they were "good and necessary." Another 46 respondents made positive statements which were not classifiable and thus were placed in the category "positive-other."

Students who wrote statements objecting to militant organizations generally suggested that these organizations were "troublemakers" or were "violent and destructive." Other students said they "dislike them" and that they "don't help the black cause." Eleven students expressed general dislike for these organizations while 10 others said they felt militant organizations were violent and destructive. Fifteen student responses which were negative were put into the negative "other" category.

TABLE 7

Responses to the Item, "How Do You Feel About Militant Organizations?"

Response Positive-Neutral	No.	Percentage
No feelings	18	9.0
Good and Necessary	16	8.0
Positive-Other	46	23.0
Response Negative	**No.**	**Percentage**
Troublemakers	3	1.5
Dislike them	11	5.5
Do not help cause of blacks	5	2.5
Violent and destructive	10	5.0
Other	15	7.5

[8] According to Arthur L. Smith, author of Rhetoric of Black Revolution:

> Even the names of various organizations in the black community emphasize power: for example, consider FIGHT, US, Black Panthers, Bootstrap, Afro-American Action Committee. Reflecting in their names the newness as well as the vitality of power as a concept, these organizations are peopled with blacks who consider the traditional civil rights groups such as Urban League, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and even the Congress of Racial Equality, to be archaic and conservative. Even though CORE's emphasis did change when Floyd McKissick embraced black power, it is still considered one of the old line groups by many black revolutionists. p. 50

There was a total number of 76 students not responding to the question. However, the responses which were made indicate that many black youth no longer reject militancy as a method of achieving equality.

Questions thirteen and fifteen dealt with the Black Power leaders in Kansas City. In response to the question "In your estimation, who are the Black Power leaders in Kansas City?" Black Panther leader (now the Sons of Malcolm) Pete O'Neal was referred to more than any other listed person. A total of 94 indicated who they felt to be the Black Power leaders. Of the 94 respondents 64% selected Pete O'Neal. Of the remaining 36% suggesting leaders, 25% chose leaders whose philosophy was much like that of O'Neal. Pete O'Neal's brother, Gary O'Neal, was the choice of 13% and Lee Bohannon 12%. Gary O'Neal, at the time, led the organization "Soul Incorporated" and Lee Bohannon organized and presently leads the group "Black Youth of America." Both groups are regarded as militant in their approach to civil rights questions.

Although clear acceptance of Black Power advocates who stress militancy is indicated in this survey, students also were asked to respond to an item which was designated to identify the person expressing best the philosophy which was more acceptable to them. Admiration expresses a desire or willingness to imitate or hold in high esteem. Respondents were asked to answer the following item: Of all the Civil Rights leaders you know of, which one do you admire most?" 70% of the respondents named Martin Luther King, Jr., even though he was then deceased, while Pete O'Neal was the choice of 11%. Perhaps to most students, leaders who represent philosophies and ideals much like Martin Luther King would be preferred if it was felt these leaders could produce the results that he did during his lifetime. But it is possible that many of those responding to this item may well admire these men but feel that their philosophy is not practical in dealing with the problems of discrimination today. Though it seems that organizations which stress militancy are better known to youth in Kansas City, students were unable to clearly indicate why they were in favor of these groups. In responding to the item, "Which black organizations are you most in favor of? Why?", the Black Panther Party was cited 30 times, five more times than the NAACP, but students were unable to express clearly why they supported either.

TABLE 8

Response to the item, "In Your Estimation, Who Are the Black Power Leaders in Kansas City?"

Individuals	No. of Responses	% of Respondents
Bruce Watkins	7	7%
Gary O'Neal	12	13%
Pete O'Neal	60	64%
Lee Bohannon	11	12%
Alvin Brooks	3	3%
Curtis McClinton	1	1%

Comparisons Between Junior and Senior High Students

As mentioned earlier, comparisons also were made between the responses of senior high students in this study and junior high students in a previous study conducted by Caliguri and Levine. Comparisons were limited to items which were worded identically or nearly identically in the two studies and were tested for statistical significance by means of chi-squared tests for comparing two distributions of respondents. Differences which were found at or beyond the .05 level of significance were as follows:

- Senior high respondents less frequently said that Black Power means "nothing" than did junior high respondents.

- Senior high respondents more frequently reported that the term Black Power makes them feel proud as compared with junior high respondents.

- Senior high respondents were more inclined to say there is a difference between Black Power and Black Pride than were junior high respondents.

- A smaller proportion of senior high respondents reported talking to members of their families and relatives about Black Power than did junior high respondents.

- Senior high respondents reported their parents as being more negative about Black Power than did junior high respondents.

- Senior high respondents were more likely to feel that Black Power would make a change in their lives than were junior high respondents.

These results must be treated cautiously inasmuch as the data for the two studies were obtained some months apart and the two samples were not randomly selected to be representative of junior and senior high students attending all-black secondary schools in Kansas City. Nevertheless, they do suggest that older black youth may be more favorable toward Black Power than are younger black youth, perhaps because they have more specific knowledge about the term's meaning and perceive it as potentially having a greater impact on their future than do the latter. One might also hypothesize that older black youth may be more reluctant than younger black youth to talk to their relatives and family about Black Power, perhaps because the former tend to disagree with their parents and relatives to a greater extent than do the latter. Firm conclusions about the causes and meaning of these differences, however, would require longitudinal data collection with more comparable samples.

TABLE 9

Response to the item, "Which Black Organizations Are You Most in Favor Of? Why?"

Organizations	No. of Responses	Percent (of the full sample of 200)
SCLC	7	3.5%
Black Panthers	30	15.0%
Soul, Incorporated	11	5.5%
NAACP	25	12.5%
Black Youth of America	4	2%
None	12	6%
Other	14	7%

TABLE 10

Response to the item, "Of All the Civil Rights Leaders You Know Of, Which One Do You Admire Most?"

Individuals	No. of Responses	% of Respondents
Martin Luther King, Jr.	73	69.52%
Stokeley Carmichael	5	4.76%
Julian Bond	8	7.61%
Huey Newton	3	2.85%
Pete O'Neal	12	11.43%
Roy Wilkins	2	1.90%
Lee Bohannon	1	.95%
Alvin Brooks	1	.95%

Discussion

Few of the results reported on the preceding pages are at all surprising. One of the major issues in connection with Black Power is whether black Americans have specific economic, political, and social goals in mind in thinking about Black Power and whether they are in sufficient agreement about these goals to translate support for the concept into improvements in living conditions. It has become the concern of many interested black Americans that those living in the black community might perceive Black Power primarily as a slogan having to do with racial pride and might participate in activities designed to show a distinctive Afro-American identity but that behavior along these lines will have little or no effect on conditions in the big city ghettoes.

One thing is certain: students in our sample recognized that Black Power does relate to pride, power to control one's life and equal opportunities and rights, which demonstrates clearly that they do have sufficient information to realize its basic significance. On the other hand, a very small percentage of students in our sample were able to define Black Power in terms of achievable goals. The fact that vagueness surrounds the meaning of Black Power provides the basis for arguments

to justify a systematic academic program that might reach the great majority of students in order to increase understanding of the slogan.

With this in mind, it must be pointed out that schools could provide the necessary guidance concerning the Black Power movement. The Black Power idea is perhaps the most important concept of our times in the black community, it is an historical fact. Unless it is widely explored in the setting most conducive to such analysis, black people may well continue to walk in the shadow of vagueness many times stumbling over each other's ideas.

APPENDIX

The following table lists the questions and responses previously categorized. It should be noted that the percentages cited after each number indicating the number selecting that answer is not based on the total number of questionnaires (200), but rather on the total number responding to the question. For example, if only 173 of the 200 students in our sample responded to the question, the percentage sould be calculated on the basis of 173 responses rather than 200.

Item	Response Category	%	(N)
1. What does Black Power mean to you?	Pride	7	(13)
	Power to control one's life	38	(70)
	Equal opportunities and rights	22	(41)
	Fighting	1	(2)
	Violence	1	(1)
	Militant non-violent action	2	(4)
	Nothing	9	(16)
	Other	20	(37)
2. What were the most important influences in your thinking about Black Power	Media	7	(8)
	Activities of Black Militants' organizations	7	(8)
	Death and speeches of Martin Luther King	5	(6)
	Racial tension	1	(1)
	Riots	12	(14)
	Black Pride and Unity	12	(14)
	Nothing	17	(20)
	Teachers	3	(4)
	Other	35	(41)
3. When you hear or talk about Black Power, how do you feel?	Proud	22	(36)
	Good	17	(28)
	Ashamed	3	(4)
	Good if not violent	5	(8)
	Depends	7	(11)
	Negative	7	(11)
	Nothing	17	(27)
	Other	23	(37)
4. What do your parents and people you know say about Black Power?	Parents are negative	34	(54)
	Parents understand	4	(6)
	Parents positive	14	(22)
	Parents say nothing	23	(36)
	Depends	10	(16)
	Other	16	(26)

Item	Response Category	%	(N)
5. Who do you talk to about Black Power?	Relatives	2	(4)
	Friends	42	(70)
	Family	8	(14)
	Teachers	5	(8)
	Nobody	20	(33)
	Community leaders	2	(3)
	Other	9	(15)
	Everyone	13	(21)
6. Is there a difference between Black Power and Black Pride?	Yes	64	(103)
	No	30	(48)
	Don't know	5	(8)
Those stating differences	Power is control	19	(12)
	Power is exercising rights	14	(9)
	Power is violence	3	(2)
	Other	64	(40)
Those stating differences	Pride is feeling equal	26	(19)
	Pride is a feeling of accomplishment	6	(4)
	Other	68	(49)
7. How do you feel about wearing Afro dress?	All right	44	(75)
	Proud	17	(28)
	Foolish	2	(3)
	Personal	7	(11)
	Don't like it	9	(15)
	It depends	15	(25)
	Other	7	(12)
8. Do you think Black Power will change anything in your life?	Yes - Maybe	54	(89)
	No	46	(76)
Responses to Question 8 Positive	Will change my old beliefs	9	(4)
	Will better economic and social life	37	(17)
	Will produce more pride	7	(3)
	Other	48	(22)
Responses to Question 8 Negative	Only a word	22	(4)
	Nothing	72	(13)
	Other	6	(1)
9. How many civil rights groups can you name? Please list them.	0 - 1	16	(27)
	2 - 3	35	(59)
	4 - 5	28	(48)
	6 or more	21	(36)

Item	Response Category	%	(N)
10. Which of these organizations seems to stand most clearly for the Black Power idea?	Black Panthers	41	(54)
	Soul, Inc.	7	(9)
	Disciples	2	(3)
	NAACP	30	(39)
	Black Youth of America	5	(6)
	S.C.L.C.	9	(12)
	S.N.C.C.	5	(6)
	CORE	1	(1)
	Black Muslims	2	(2)
11. Which of these organizations do you believe to be militant? List one or more in order of militancy.	Black Panthers	87	(98)
	Soul, Inc.	1	(5)
	Disciples	1	(1)
	NAACP	4	(4)
	Black Youth of America	0	
	S.C.L.C.	0	
	S.N.C.C.	4	(4)
	CORE	0	
	Black Muslims	1	(1)
12. How do you feel about militant organizations? - Positive	No feelings	23	(19)
	They are good and necessary	21	(17)
	Other	56	(46)
Negative	Trouble makers	7	(3)
	Dislike them	25	(11)
	Don't help cause	11	(5)
	They are violent and destructive	23	(10)
	Sick	0	(0)
	Other	34	(15)
13. In your estimation, who are the Black Power leaders in Kansas City?	Bruce Watkins	7	(7)
	Gary O'Neal	13	(12)
	Pete O'Neal	64	(60)
	Lee Bohannon	12	(11)
	Alvin Brooks	3	(3)
	Curtis McClinton	1	(1)
	Other	0	(0)
14. Which black organization are you most in favor of? Why?	S.C.L.C.	7	(7)
	Black Panthers	29	(30)
	Soul, Inc.	11	(11)
	NAACP	24	(25)
	S.N.C.C.	1	(1)
	Black Youth of America	4	(4)
	None	12	(12)
	Other	14	(14)

Reasons for selecting groups in Item 14	Response Category	%	(N)
S.C.L.C.	They are peaceful	75	(3)
	Other	25	(1)
Black Panthers	They demand respect	13	(3)
	Because of their dress and talk	4	(1)
	They defend and help blacks	33	(8)
	Other	50	(12)
Soul, Inc.	Have good intentions	26	(2)
	Other	74	(6)
NAACP	Only organization that makes sense	0	(0)
	Defends and helps blacks	50	(11)
	Emphasizes brotherhood	5	(1)
	Other	45	(10)
S.N.C.C.	They're not violent	100	(1)
Black Youth of America	Represent interest of youth	100	(4)

Item	Response Categories	%	(N)
15. Of all the civil rights leaders you know of, which one do you admire most?	Martin Luther King	70	(73)
	Stokeley Carmichael	5	(5)
	Julian Bond	8	(8)
	Huey Newton	3	(3)
	Pete O'Neal	11	(12)
	Roy Wilkins	2	(2)
	Lee Bohannon	1	(1)
	Alvin Brooks	1	(1)
	Whitney Young	0	(0)
	Jesse Jackson	0	(0)